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dition, thousands of honest and well-meaning men, who now oppose, or refuse their countenance and aid to, the fugitive slave law, would with joy and alacrity give it their support. The abolitionists would dwindle to an insignificant faction; fanaticism would lose its chief source of excitement, and the demagogues a topic for agitation. The subject of slavery would no longer be regarded as a weapon in party contests, as a means of influence and power in the ever-recurring strife of President-making, to which our politics seem now to have degenerated. It would thus be left, where alone it can be placed with safety, in the hands of the Southern people, who would be responsible to the country and to the world for its just and wise management. According to that management will be towards them the feeling of the North,—either coldness and aversion, or the sympathy, respect, and love due to worthy countrymen and brothers; and these are bonds stronger and more enduring than cotton and corn, than iron rails or iron wires, to preserve the Union, and to bind us together, not only as one nation, but as one people.

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ART. VIII.—1. *England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, with the Contemporary History of Europe, illustrated in a Series of Original Letters, with a Historical Introduction and Notes.* By PATRICK FRASER TYTLER. London. 1839. 2 vols. 8vo.

2. *Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest, with Anecdotes of their Courts; now first published from Official Records and other Authentic Documents.* By AGNES STRICKLAND. Vols. V. and VI. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1850.

THE authoress of the latter of these works, by her lively yet learned treatment of a subject on which both her talents and her sex entitle her to be heard, has aided in disabusing the popular mind of a traditional prejudice which many historians

of great reputation had done their utmost to confirm. No impartial reader of her *Lives of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor* can believe that the elder sister deserved to have the ugly epithet of "Bloody" prefixed to her name, or that the younger, great as was her popularity, and glorious as was her reign, possessed any of those endearing qualities which the fond appellation of "Good Queen Bess" would seem to imply. But the fair writer's zeal has led her somewhat too far. She has done much to disseminate an error precisely opposite to that which she has labored to remove. If her representations should be accepted in their fullest extent, the objectionable epithets will continue to be used. The application alone will be reversed. The world will, hereafter, speak of "Good Queen Mary" and "Bloody Bess."

In all the sovereigns of the house of Tudor, the natural texture of the character, so to speak, was the same. The fibres were coarse and strong. In the women, we observe no beautiful or delicate trait, no grace of thought, no glow of feeling; in the men, there was no generosity, no magnanimity, no chivalrous sense of honor. In all, there was the same stubbornness of will, the same coldness of heart. It was a hard, unyielding nature, — not reckless when impelled by passion, not gentle or amiable when controlled by principle. We abhor the insensibility with which it trampled on its victims, but admire the steadiness of purpose by which it triumphed over all obstacles. While the vacillation and want of energy inherent in the Stuarts, from the first prince to the last pretender in the line, twice lost them a crown, of which few wished to deprive them, and twice prevented them from regaining it when fortune was propitious; the constancy and resoluteness that so eminently characterized the Tudors enabled the founder of the dynasty to establish himself upon a throne to which he had not the shadow of a rightful claim, and his successors to maintain themselves in more than one crisis of extraordinary peril. With shades of difference in its manifestation, strength of will predominated in the character of every member of this family. It was displayed alike in the quiet and wary, but unwavering, persistence of Henry VII.; in the selfish, sensual obstinacy of Henry VIII.; in the conscien-

tious, if unenlightened, inflexibility of Mary; and in the haughty, yet politic, firmness of Elizabeth. The first of these princes, whatever may have been his faults, was governed, in the main, by no baser passion than ambition, and his astute and indefatigable policy harmonized with the exigencies of the time. Elizabeth, with higher intellect and larger views, placed herself among the foremost champions of a cause on which the future of Christendom depended. The course pursued by Mary neither furthered the development of the nation, nor ran parallel with the tendencies of the age; but her motives, at least, were respectable; she acted in accordance with what she believed to be the strongest of all moral obligations. But Henry VIII. was neither guided by political principles nor by a mistaken sense of duty. In his character, the peculiarities of his race assume their most repulsive aspect; and we doubt if the record of a career, so utterly, so brutally, selfish as his can be found in the annals of history. There are names, "at which the world grows pale," of men who, impelled by demoniacal frenzy, have passed from crime to crime, until their natures seemed to lose all semblance of humanity. Nero, endowed, perhaps, by nature, with an excess of sensibility, was steeped, while yet a boy, in all the infamies of the accursed age in which he lived, and reached, at last, an abyss of insatiable desires, when the lust of pleasure and the lust of blood were one. The madness of uncontrollable appetites goaded that wretched heathen soul onward in its course of stupendous wickedness; and if the victim paused, if moments of reflection came, Remorse herself seized the scorpion whip, and drove him towards his fearful doom. Henry's character was of a different stamp. His was not a weak and susceptible nature, dragged by the impetuous current of an evil age into a vortex of insane desires. There was a method in his fury, very unlike the wildness of desperation. His intellect, though shallow, was clear; his will was inflexible; his heart was wholly callous. No affection, no loyalty, ever awakened a corresponding feeling in his breast, or even the faintest consciousness of what he ought to feel. Neither argument nor entreaty could move him from a selfish purpose. Wolsey sometimes knelt before him for

hours, vainly endeavoring, by all the arts of persuasion, to shake his determination. An intense egotism pervaded his nature. He valued men only as they ministered to his gratification or his ease, not for any intrinsic qualities of their own. When he was weary of them, or no longer needed them, if they opposed his nefarious schemes, or if their rectitude but silently reproached him, he crushed them and forgot them. The trustworthiness of virtue and the subserviency of vice were of equal estimation in his eyes. The great services of Wolsey, the integrity of More, the base compliances of Cromwell, received a like reward from his impartial brutality.

But this is not the depth of his infamy. He was incapable of feeling in cases where the most inhuman feel. He knew no shame for actions of which depravity itself is ashamed. He forgot things which the most ungrateful remember,—things which are remembered by most men when they have forgotten the weightiest benefits. He sent women from his bed to the scaffold, and no recollection of their embraces brought a blush to his unmanly cheeks. He cast off the incomparable wife, on whose faithful bosom he had reposed for fifteen years or more, and used all the arts of malice and of meanness to torture the miserable remnant of her days. He consigned to an ignominious death the accomplished woman, to gain possession of whom he had made a revolution in his kingdom and agitated all Christendom, and the ignorant girl who had been his wife for a month. He caused his daughters to be virtuously educated, and branded them as illegitimate. What a wretch must this have been, who never saw in his dreams the forms which he had caressed, and which the headsman had mangled! Who can look without disgust at that face which Hans Holbein's faithful pencil has transmitted to us?—the small pig's-eyes, the drooping, flabby, greasy cheeks,—these would have revealed the man, had history been mute,—the man destitute alike of principles and of affections, who never experienced an emotion of love, of pity, of gratitude, or of remorse.

No person of ordinary, unsophisticated feelings ever read the history of this monarch without the strongest sensations of horror and contempt. Yet Henry VIII. has been very

leniently dealt with by nearly all Protestant writers, who have fancied, that, among this mass of vices, they could discern indications of a nature originally noble. The faults of his character have all been traced to the too early possession of arbitrary power, and to the sycophancy that stimulated every evil propensity. His easy manners, his frank and careless speech, have caused men to believe that "Bluff Harry" had, after all, a naturally good heart. It is true that he was not a hypocrite. He had not the refinement of intellect or the regard for men's opinions necessary for hypocrisy. But this free and uncereceremonious address, these apparent marks of good humor and good fellowship, betokened only a nature satisfied with itself, and accustomed to give free play to every selfish impulse. Far from indicating any kindly feeling or personal regard, these nauseous familiarities were lavished upon persons to whom he behaved with inconceivable baseness. We know, from the best evidence, that the hardened nature of the man was visible to every observer not blinded by his own vanity. When Roper congratulated his father-in-law upon the loving demeanor of the king, who had put his fat arm about the Chancellor's neck as they walked together in conversation, "Son Roper," replied the keensighted More, "if having my head would win him a castle in France, it should not fail to go." Sharon Turner finds a proof of Henry's magnanimity in the fact, that when Reginald Pole expostulated with him on the violence of his measures, Henry, whose hand, while he was speaking, played with the dagger hanging at his girdle, preserved sufficient self-command not to thrust the weapon, as he felt strongly inclined to do, into his kinsman's breast!

Hallam, who applauds the affability of his manners and the generosity of his temper, observes that "after all, Henry was every whit as good a king and man as Francis I., whom there are still some on the other side of the Channel servile enough to extol; not the least more tyrannical and sanguinary, and of better faith towards his neighbors." Francis I. (whose character, as he has been dead these three hundred years, we cannot imagine any Frenchman of the present day extolling from servile motives) was, doubtless, an arbitrary

prince and a licentious man, whose example gave its tone to the most profligate of courts, and who oppressed his subjects by such exactions as were never tolerated by the English nation under the most despotic of its sovereigns. But we do not remember to have read that he punished loyalty and fidelity as crimes; that the men who were most devoted to his service were consigned, one after another, to ignominy and death. He was unfaithful to his wife; but he did not degrade her from her rank, or deny her the company of her children, or strip her of the comforts of life, and assign her a residence where the unwholesome air swiftly terminated her existence. The women who shared his sensual pleasures were not afterwards the victims of his brutal temper. Madame d'Estampes did not perish by the sword of the executioner, but is credibly reported to have survived her royal lover. The children of Francis were not made the objects of public stigma, or treated with insolence and harshness by his parasites. No one ever expressed a wish, in his presence, that the head of the king's daughter were "from her shoulders," in order that he might "toss it with his foot." The veneration which Francis showed for his mother, his regard and affection for his sister, the ardent love which he bore to his children, the delicacy of his behavior towards his daughter-in-law, on an occasion when delicacy was something more than courtesy,\* are traits recorded not merely by his "servile" countrymen, but by the intelligent Venetian ministers, whose practice it was to furnish to their government secret and faithful reports of what came under their observation. If a prominent feature in the character of the French monarch was love of applause, the conduct by which he often endeavored to gain approbation was of that kind which most deserves it. "Take back

\* "Henry, the second son of Francis I., who was now dauphin, was married to Catharine de Medici, of Florence. For a long time they had no children, and, as she was by many not deemed his equal in birth, the idea of sending her back to Florence began to be spoken of. Catharine herself, wise and resolute as she was, came to the King, and offered to depart, whilst a flood of tears choked her language. 'My child,' replied the King, 'as God has willed that you should be my daughter-in-law, such shall you remain.' This act is worthy of high estimation, for Francis was anxiously fearful that none of his sons would have male issue, and that his race would, therefore, become extinct in the second generation." *Ranke, Civil Wars and Monarchy in France*, i. 165.

your keys," he said to the citizens of Rochelle, after the suppression of an insurrection, which the bloody chastisement that followed the "Pilgrimage of Grace" leaves us no room to doubt how Henry would have punished; — "Ring all your bells; you are forgiven; I covet only the hearts of my subjects." No one will pretend that the policy of Francis was dictated by a pure desire for the welfare of his people. But at least, it did not fluctuate with the play of his sensual appetites; it was characterized by intelligence and activity; and instead of dreaming and chattering about impossible conquests, he enlarged the resources of his kingdom, and maintained its independence against a most sagacious and powerful antagonist. And even if these points of dissimilarity did not exist, the world would still see a great difference between the bloated voluptuary, who valued luxury more than he coveted glory, and whose highest personal exploit was killing a stag in Windsor Forest, and the gallant soldier of Marignano and Pavia, whose body was hardened against the effects of exposure and privation, who slept on the ground, without removing his armor, during the night that interrupted a battle, and whose feats of daring were the favorite themes of chronicle and song.

The three children of Henry VIII., though born of three different women, all exhibited the strongly-marked characteristics of their father's race. In intellect, they were all, perhaps, his superiors; but yet, in all, it was the same intellect, distinguished rather by clearness and vigor than by subtlety or depth. They were educated, however, under very dissimilar influences; for, in the long intervals that elapsed between their births, Henry had time to change his religion and his household, to decapitate his old advisers and surround himself with new. In their characters, or, at all events, in their principles, we observe a contrast which corresponds to this difference of education. Mary and Edward were both most carefully trained, not only as regarded their intellectual culture, but in respect of religious opinions and moral principles and conduct. The views and habits thus early induced could not fail to take the strongest hold of such tenacious minds. The teachings and example of her pious mother made Mary



a zealous Catholic. Under the influence of the fathers of the English Church — far more rigid in their notions, as is well known, than those who, after the accession of Elizabeth, remodelled the national creed — Edward became a no less zealous Puritan. He wept when compelled by the threats of the imperial ambassador to refrain from punishing his sister for her adherence to a creed which he considered idolatrous. He wept, also, when he signed the death-warrant of Joan Boucher,— not, as has been justly remarked, because he was justly affected by the thought of the shocking doom to which he was consigning her body, but because he lamented the obstinate heresy which her immortal soul was to expiate by far more fearful pains. The indifference with which this young prince regarded the persons to whom he might have been expected to show himself most strongly attached, is strikingly shown by two passages in his journal, which would have been sufficient to identify him as a Tudor, had his mother's fame not been as spotless as it was. In one of these, he says, "At another time, he (the Admiral) said, ye must take upon yourself to rule, for ye shall be able enough, as well as other kings, and then ye may give your men somewhat; for your uncle is old, and I trust will not live long. I answered, it were better that he should die." The other entry is the simple, matter-of-fact statement, under date of January 22, 1552, that his uncle "had his head cut off on Tower Hill" that morning.

The attention given to Elizabeth's education was, on the whole, less scrupulous than that bestowed upon the education of Mary, who in childhood was the heiress presumptive, and on that of Edward, who from birth was the heir apparent to the throne. The gross negligence of those who had charge of her, in all that regarded moral discipline, was revealed in the course of the investigations made, when she was in her sixteenth year, into the circumstances of her residence with Seymour and the Queen Dowager. But hers was a mind to profit more by experience than by precept. The scandal of that exposure made a strong impression on her. The buxom, hoydenish girl developed into the elegant and accomplished young woman, whose prudence, self-command, and powers of

dissimulation enabled her to avoid the dangers so thick about her path. No sooner had she ascended the throne, than a boldness and a vigor, for which no one had given her credit, displayed themselves in every act. She desired to maintain, unimpaired, not merely the authority, but the dignity, of the crown. To this ambition all other feelings were made subservient; and hence it is, that though no sovereign ever had greater weaknesses, no one has ever thought of calling her weak. It was not her wounded vanity which made her consent to the execution of Essex. His offences against her as a woman would have been more amply punished by his abasement than by his death. But he had insulted the royal prerogative, — a crime which she never forgave; and least of all, could it be forgiven in him. However we may pity his fate, however fantastic or ridiculous Elizabeth's fondness for him may appear to have been, the stern despair with which she sacrificed that feeling to the principle from which she never swerved gives grandeur to her character, and merits our highest admiration.

Mary alone, of Henry's children, enjoyed, throughout the period when it was needed most, the blessings of a mother's watchful care. And that mother was a woman whom history and Shakspeare join in representing as endowed with all the virtues and all the graces of her sex. By her, Mary's education was personally superintended, and her purity and integrity of mind assiduously cultivated. Her natural qualities were far superior to those of her daughter. But we observe in Mary's conduct, as the result of principle and early habit, much that sprang directly from the impulses of Katherine's finer organization. The foreign envoys admitted to her presence were charmed with the deportment and the accomplishments of the young princess. Her keen dark eyes betokened intelligence. Her face, if not handsome, had a ruddy complexion; and the expression of her countenance was open and not unpleasing. The decorum of her manners was remarkable. She often took part in the masks, and balls, and other gayeties of the court; but no charge of levity or indiscreet behavior was ever whispered against her. Though treated with even greater respect than is usually accorded to

the daughters of a royal house, there was no arrogance in her bearing, nor has vanity ever been enumerated among her faults. Enthusiastic visitors found a mixture of sweetness with seriousness, of quickness with deference, in her conversation and demeanor. Doubtless, there was a precocious gravity in Mary's deportment, and strictness in her conduct, arising partly from an innate love of order, which made it easy to accustom her to all the proprieties of life, and partly from a deficiency of that mental sportiveness and grace which prolong the period of childhood. In a lower station, the praises bestowed on her would not have been unmingled with smiles, such as are provoked by the precision and stiffness that belong to the manners of overbred young people. Mary's occupations and amusements were regulated by a code as rigid as any that was ever devised by a parent or schoolmistress. Her course of reading included the New Testament, selected portions of the Old Testament, of the Fathers, and of the principal Greek and Latin authors, the Paraphrase of Erasmus, and the Utopia of Sir Thomas More. The romances of chivalry were absolutely forbidden; and the only work of fiction she was allowed to peruse was the story of Griselda, that pattern of meek submission to domestic tyranny. Cards and dice were also placed under the ban; but to this restriction the princess probably demurred, for we find her afterwards much addicted to these amusements.

In other respects, the discipline of her earlier years left a more durable effect. Whatever there was in Katherine's religion that could be taught, or could be imitated, Mary easily acquired, and pertinaciously retained. Faith in the dogmas of the church was imposed upon her as the most stringent of all obligations; and to the authority which she was thus taught to reverence, she continued throughout life to yield implicit deference. She conformed to all the observances of her sect with scrupulous exactness. Nor were duties of a more active and practical kind neglected. She never ceased to practise those works of charity, the performance of which was enjoined upon her as not only right and meritorious, but as necessary to salvation. In the last year of her life, she is stated to have visited *incognita* the cottages in the neighbor-

hood of Croydon, and to have distributed alms to their needy inmates. At a very early age, she became fond of officiating as godmother to children of whatever rank; and where the parties belonged to the humbler walks of life, they obtained in this way a title to her protection and assistance, which she never disregarded. She learned also to treat her servants and dependants with consideration and kindness, and to satisfy their just expectations. She never received a service which she did not avail herself of the earliest opportunity to repay. Many instances, scattered through her history, prove the sacredness in which she had been taught to hold a promise. When the adherents of Northumberland burnt Sawston Hall, which had sheltered her for a night during her flight to Kenninghall, she assured the owner of the house that she would build him a better; and the edifice which she erected is still standing, a monument of her gratitude and her truth,—qualities which are the rarest among the virtues of princes. In fact, the claims of justice,—the claims which her own conscience recognized,—Mary never overlooked. She was a faithful and zealous friend, and showed herself solicitous and active in serving those whose interests she was under a natural obligation to promote. She requited her mother's ardent love by a strong and unswerving attachment to her person and her cause. She would not abandon, while Katherine survived, those pretensions which were identified with the rights of the ill-fated queen; and in her own last hours, she gave proof of the grateful veneration with which she cherished her memory. It is unnecessary to remind the reader how Mary exerted herself to obtain pensions from the Protector for "those persons who had served her a very long time, and had no kind of living certain;" or of her applications to the Duchess of Somerset, in behalf of some who, she says, "were my mother's servants when you were one of her grace's maids."

Such traits as these justify Tytler and Miss Strickland in discarding the common view of Mary's character. Yet we do not think that she can with exact propriety be described as an "amiable woman," or that her memory, when cleared of the unjust odium which has defaced it, will wear any peculiar

lustre. Well-shaped features do not always make a face lovely or attractive. In spite of all her excellent qualities, Mary's character has still a harsh and somewhat repulsive aspect. Her virtues were not the luxuriant growth of a rich, natural soil. Her piety, her benevolence, her gratitude, were the fruits of a rigid moral training, not of any natural sensibility. Had she been less conscientious, her attachments would not have been so strong or so durable; the record of her charities and her kindnesses would have been a meagre one. Had her heart been more tender, she could not have complied so easily on all occasions with the requirements of her conscience. The faults from which she was free, were those which may be almost always traced to a neglected education. Her life was correct, her principles were strict, her convictions were sincere, her conduct was consistent. The qualities she wanted, to entitle her to love and admiration, as well as respect, were such as no education could bestow. Her character would have needed no eulogy, if, with her dauntless spirit and integrity of purpose, it had united the delicate instincts of her mother's warm and affectionate nature. But these Mary did not inherit, and Katherine could not impart.

The glimpses we obtain of Mary's private life, during her brother's reign, give us the best notion of what sort of a person she would have been, if her lot had been cast in a less exalted station, and amid quieter scenes. She spent this period in comparative retirement, rarely visiting the court, where the religious changes of course disgusted her, and where she was not a welcome guest; while the ill health from which she suffered, and perhaps the jealousy of the government, prevented her from seeing much society beyond that of her own household. Her time seems to have been methodically distributed amongst serious studies, needle-work, alms-giving, and card-playing. A sharp and shrewish air, which belongs to most women who have had to struggle unaided with the difficulties of life, and who by their own energy have got the better of adverse circumstances, attracts our notice in much that is related of her conduct at this period. Under the powerful protection of the Emperor, she could answer the remonstrances of the court upon her obstinate adherence to the

Roman Catholic rites with keen thrusts of feminine sarcasm, which she delivered with peculiar vigor.

A committee, sent by the Council to threaten her into compliance with their demands, met with a signal discomfiture. She rated them sharply for showing so little favor to one whose father "had made the most of them what they then were, almost out of nothing." When they told her that the comptroller of her household had been imprisoned for refusing to prevent her chaplains from saying mass, she remarked that "it was not the wisest of all councils that sent her own servants to control her in her own house; for of all persons, she was least likely to obey those who had been always used to obey her." "As to my priests," she exclaimed, "they know what they have to do, if they refuse to say mass for fear of imprisonment; they may act therein as they will, but none of your new service shall be said in any house of mine; and if any be said in it, I will not tarry in it an hour." After this "gentle passage of arms" had continued awhile, she retired to her chamber; but while the chancellor and his companions were searching in the courtyard for one of the refractory priests, Mary opened a window, and calling to them in shrill tones, (though they "offered to return to the house to hear what she had to say,") "I pray you," cried she, "ask the lords of the Council that my comptroller may shortly return; for since his departing, I take the accounts myself; and lo, have I learned how many loaves of bread be made of a bushel of wheat! I wis, my father and mother never brought me up to brewing and baking! And to be plain with you, I am a-weary of mine office. If my lords will send mine officer home again, they shall do me a pleasure; otherwise, if they will send him to prison, beshrew me, if he go not to it merrily and with a good will! And I pray God to send you well in your souls, and in your bodies too, for some of you have but weak ones." Hereupon, the deputation returned to the court to "report progress."

If Katherine of Aragon, by her early and unremitting care, laid the foundation of her daughter's irreproachable private life, it cannot be denied that she instilled into Mary's mind one feeling which proved the bane of her public career, the

source of all the great misfortunes of her reign, and of the obloquy which has rested upon her memory. Beneath her royal garb, the daughter of Isabella of Castile concealed the habit of a religious order; but with greater pride, perhaps, than that with which she donned her richest robes, with recollections as pious and tender as those associated with the coarse garment of St. Francis, she continued, throughout her long residence in England, to wear the mantilla of her beloved Spain. Few of her affections were so ardent as her love for her native land, and for the kinsmen who swayed its destinies. Her fondest wish was, to effect a marriage between her daughter and some member of her own family,—a desire of which, happily for herself, she did not live to see the accomplishment. The contract by which Mary, in her seventh year, was affianced to her cousin, Charles the Fifth, had at least this result, that the princess, in accordance with a promise made to Charles, was educated, in certain respects, in conformity with Spanish customs, and that she learned to consider Spain as her future home, and to regard her mother's relatives as peculiarly her own. She of course acquired the Castilian, in which Katharine, who also taught her Latin, was doubtless her instructress. When degraded from her rank, Mary naturally looked to the royal house of Spain to uphold her rights. It was impossible that any strong affection or cordial understanding could exist between her and Henry's other children; at home, every friend on whom she could rely, was driven from her side; in her necessity, she was forced to seek assistance and advice abroad. All the circumstances of her earlier life tended to divest Mary, before she ascended the throne, of those strong national feelings which, in a monarch, and above all in an English monarch, have always sufficed to cover a multitude of deficiencies. This it was which, when discovered, destroyed her popularity, and consigned her name to infamy. There was one fact which should have changed the current of her feelings, and reimbued her with the patriotism which she had lost. She had been discarded by her father and her brother; the nobility had been untrue to her. But the popular feeling had never deserted her; it had been an invisible defence to her against the brutality of her father and

the fanaticism of her brother; in the hour of extreme peril, it had risen with irresistible power, and restored to her the birthright of which she had been deprived. If there ever was a case in which gratitude was due from a sovereign to a people, this was surely it. But to her people, — to her people alone, — Mary was ungrateful. Spontaneously, and almost unanimously, they bore her to the throne; and her rule resembled at once that of a partisan and a foreigner.

While the loyal gentry and yeomanry of England were flocking to Mary's standard at Framlingham, envoys from Paris and Brussels had already arrived at London, to take part (diplomatically) in the contest, and to set on foot intrigues for turning the result to the advantage of their respective courts. "From information which we have received," says Charles, in the instructions given to Renard, "we suspect that it is intended to exclude our cousin from the succession; not only on account of her firm adherence to our holy faith, but also by reason of the jealousy with which our influence over her is regarded in England, where it will probably be imagined that we should seek to marry her to a foreign prince, who would introduce changes into the government." The envoy was, therefore, directed to remove, if possible, the suspicions of Northumberland and the other members of the actual government, by informing them that Charles himself considered it advisable that Mary should marry an English subject, who would be a more suitable person to govern the country than one who was unacquainted with its affairs. In this way their apprehensions of having a foreigner for their king — a notion which they held in such universal abhorrence, "*tant abhorry d'eulx universellement*" — would, perhaps, be allayed; while those who might suppose themselves entitled to aspire to the possession of their sovereign's hand, would naturally seek the good offices of her kinsman, whose advice might be expected to affect her decision. "If by these means," continues Charles, "our cousin should gain possession of the crown, she will afterwards be able, by little and little, to enlarge her authority; and she may then defer making choice of a husband, under pretext of consulting us, her relative and ally, — taking care, however, not to provoke suspicion as to the real cause of the



delay. This will give time to create disputes between the principal rivals, which will afford an opportunity for putting an end to their pretensions." \*

Although Charles thus assumed the tone of Mary's natural protector, he had no design whatever of supporting her right by arms.† Renard, therefore, when he found Northumberland in apparent possession of undisputed authority, and of the military resources of the kingdom, regarding Mary's cause as hopeless, and conceiving that all that remained for him was to establish a good understanding between his master and the *de facto* government, sent a message to the princess to dissuade her from causing herself to be proclaimed, representing the danger of setting up claims to a crown, even amongst a barbarous people like the English — "*mesmes entre barbares et gens de telle condition que les Angloys*" — and that if any considerable part of the nation were well affected to her cause, no proclamation was necessary, since they would take the field of their own accord.‡

A few days after this precious advice had been given and disregarded, the ambassador was able to inform Charles that Mary had been proclaimed by Northumberland himself! Hereupon he was instructed to obtain an interview, as soon as possible, with the new Queen, and, after offering his public congratulations, to inform her, in private, that the emperor had been preparing to send her aid, but had not ventured openly to espouse her quarrel, lest he might thus provoke the jealousy even of her own adherents. He had ordered a fleet, however, to be fitted out, ostensibly for the protection of the herring-fisheries on the coast of Holland, but in reality to be ready for any opportunity that might arise of giving Mary efficient succor. Charles then proceeded to offer advice, with the confidence of one who knew the deference with which his counsel would be received, as to the manner in which his kinswoman

\* *L'Empereur à ses Ambassadeurs en Angleterre*, 23 Juin, 1553; ap. *Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle*, iv., 4.

† This is sufficiently apparent from more than one passage in the correspondence. "You well know," the Emperor writes, July 11, "that the present state of our relations with France makes it impossible for us to give any assistance to our cousin." *Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle*, iv., 25.

‡ Renard to the Emperor, July 7.

should proceed, in order to "reduce things gradually to a better state;" for which purpose, the necessity of dissimulation was, of course, insisted upon; for Charles, like most of the statesmen of that age, was a disciple of Louis XI.

"Above all things," he goes on, "let her appear to act only in accordance with the views of the principal persons in the kingdom, who will thus understand that she is, as indeed she ought to be, in all respects a good Englishwoman. And you will further say to her, that it is very requisite for her protection and defence, especially in enterprises which are not within a woman's province — *que ne sont de la profession de dames* — that she should soon make choice of a husband. And if, before she determines upon the person, she should desire to consult us, we shall not fail, from the sincere affection which we bear her, to advise her freely in regard to the matter." \*

But although Mary was quite as ready to receive the emperor's advice as he was liberal in the tender of it, it was not easy for the envoy to obtain an opportunity of discussing the subject with her personally. In order to avoid giving umbrage to the Council, it was necessary that their interviews should be secret. But the Queen was at this time residing in the Tower; and as all who entered the gates were subject to strict observation, Renard could not obtain access to her without exciting suspicion. Mary sent him a message to come to her in disguise. But he was too prudent to trust to the concealment of a cloak, — "*prendre ung manteau*," — and determined to wait until she should have removed to Richmond.† In the mean time, he cautiously sounded some members of the Council as to their views in regard to the marriage of their mistress. He contradicted the common report that the Prince of Spain was affianced to the Princess Mary of Portugal. To bring about an alliance between Philip and the English Queen was now the principal object of Renard's mission. Finding that the kindness with which Courtenay, Earl of Devon, was treated by Mary, had given rise to the impression that he was the man on whom she intended to bestow her hand, the envoy informed her, in a letter, that common rumor attributed to Courtenay an affection

\* *The Emperor to Renard*, July 22. † *Renard to the Bishop of Arras*, August 7.

for Elizabeth, which the princess was supposed to return, and insinuated that they were both engaged in political intrigues inimical to her majesty.\*

“When I obtain an interview with her,” he wrote to Granvelle, “I intend to draw her into a conversation on the subject of marriage — ‘*la faire tumber en propoz de mariage*,’ — in order to discover whether she has an affection for any one of her own nation — which seems to me impossible, since she can have no confidence in a people with whose inconstant and treacherous character she is well acquainted.” †

So great was the secrecy with which this negotiation was begun, that even Renard’s colleagues, and the resident ambassador, were excluded from the knowledge of it; and as their jealousy was awakened by perceiving that some design was on foot, in which they were not allowed to participate, Charles sent them letters of recall. At the court of Brussels, no one was privy to the matter except Granvelle, to whom, by way of precaution, Renard was directed to send his despatches, instead of corresponding directly with the Emperor. Even the Regent of the Netherlands, Mary of Hungary, Charles’s sister, was not made acquainted with the affair until there was good reason to anticipate a favorable issue. A message was sent to Spain to stop proceedings in the treaty for the Portuguese marriage, if it should not have been already concluded; and, in the mean time, Renard was directed, in his conversation with Mary, to throw out some hints in favor of the project, not as if he were empowered to treat upon it, but as if the suggestion came merely from himself. Granvelle warned him, also, not to commit himself by any decided opposition to Courtenay; “for should her inclinations point in that direction,” he said, “she will not be prevented from following them, if she be of the same nature as other women, by any thing that you may say, which will only have the effect of making her your enemy forever after.”

That Mary really entertained an affection for Courtenay seems to have been the general opinion at the English court. The French envoy was so well satisfied on this point, that he

\* *Renard to Queen Mary, August.*

† *Renard to the Bishop of Arras, August 7.*

appears to have relaxed somewhat in the vigilance with which he had at first watched the movements of his antagonist. The eager joy with which Noailles had announced to his sovereign the accession of his "good sister, Queen Jane," had changed into the affectation of still greater pleasure, when the speedy alteration in the aspect of affairs had rebuked his too sanguine disposition.\* He hastened to present his credentials to Mary, and to pay court to the man who, he imagined, stood highest in her favor. The French government had received an early insinuation that Charles was not disposed to let slip the opportunity, afforded by Mary's accession to the English throne, of strengthening his own position by effecting a closer connection with his cousin. They seem to have anticipated that the Emperor would offer to renew the engagement which he had broken off so many years before. Noailles was little disturbed by the first hints that reached him in regard to Philip. He continued to invite Courtenay to "little suppers," at which he gave the young nobleman excellent advice, of which he appears to have been sadly in need, as to his conduct at court. The envoy wrote home that Courtenay was made so much of by the Queen, that she would hardly suffer him out of her presence; that she sent an attendant with him whenever he went abroad; that she designed to create him a marquis, and that his mother was her constant bedfellow. His illusion was suddenly dispelled when one of his spies at the court came to him, on September the seventh, an hour

\* The French government, in their extreme anxiety to side with the dominant party, offered to send a large force to Calais for the general protection of that place in the event of a civil war. The manner in which this polite offer was received by the Governor, the celebrated Lord William Howard of Effingham, is worthy of notice. In a letter to the Constable Montmorenci, he says: "Whereas I understand by your letter that you wish me to give you encouragement to repair hither with an army, under color of defending her majesty's possessions, you will please to understand, that this city was not intrusted to me in order that I should deliver it up to your king, or to any of his servants; but to guard and keep it against you and all others who may venture to assail it, and to live and die in the defence of it, like a true and loyal gentleman. And since you have thus given me notice, be assured that if you undertake any thing against this town or the adjacent territory, I will, by the grace of God, give you good reason to repent of it. Your good friend, W. Howard." (*Ambassades de Noailles*, II., 88.) Little did this blunt and faithful servant of Queen Mary imagine that one result of her misgovernment would be the loss of this sole remnant of the English conquests in France.

after midnight, and informed him that Philip, Prince of Spain, was to be the Queen's husband.\*

This announcement was premature. That it was so, however, seems to have been no fault of Mary. However little reason she had for regarding her countrymen as "inconstant and treacherous," she certainly had no intention of marrying Courtenay. It is not improbable, indeed, that the favor she had shown him was partly designed to conceal her real feelings from her ministers and the court. It does not appear to have occurred to any of the parties interested in discovering her inclinations, that she could have any stronger reason for preferring Philip, than the ambition to make a splendid alliance. No one supposed that she was "in love," and with a man whom she had never seen. Even Charles could find no stronger reason for her marrying his son, rather than himself or Cardinal Pole, than the greater probability that she would have children by him to inherit the crown.† But when we consider the strength of Mary's attachment to her mother's family, her early expectations of being more nearly allied to it, and her constant recourse to it, when her position had been lowly and hazardous, for advice, for sympathy, and for support, we may easily conceive that now, when those dark hours were past, the revival of a design, which, even in childhood, had strongly agitated her breast,‡ might excite sensations of tenderness and hope such as she had long ceased to experience, and fill her mind with anticipations that wore the bloom of a second youth. Nor were the reports that reached her of Philip's character and manners calculated to throw a damp upon this *fancy* — soon to ripen into *passion*. She knew only that he was a rigid Catholic; that his deportment was characterized, in an extraordinary degree, by those national peculiarities which she had been taught to admire; that he was grave beyond his years; stately, yet gallant, in his behavior to ladies; and conspicuous for the talent and assiduity with

\* *Ambassades de Noailles*, ii., 143.

† "*L'alliance duquel, pour l'espoir qu'elle auroit de plus tost avoir enfans, lui seroit plus à propos.*" *The Emperor to Renard*, September 20.

‡ "Her assured love towards his majesty hath already raised such passion in her that it is confirmed by jealousy, which is one of the greatest signs and tokens of love." *Letter of Wolsey*, of April 7, 1525, cited by Miss Strickland.

which, from boyhood, he had conducted the regency of Spain. On Mary's mind the description of these qualities could not produce an unfavorable effect. Her impatience for the emperor's proposition outstripped the cautious movements of his ambassador. The latter could not take any decisive step until he received special instructions. When he found an opportunity of speaking to her generally upon the subject of her marriage, she listened to him with a flutter of pleasure and expectation, which, in some degree, betrayed her feelings even to Renard, who does not appear to have been particularly keen-sighted in such matters.

"She laughed," he says, — "*elle se print à rire* — not once only, but many times, and gave me a significant glance, by which I perceived that it was very agreeable to her to have the subject introduced. She gave me to understand that she had no desire for an English marriage, and recurring to what we had formerly said to the Council, as to the impolicy of her choosing a foreigner, she showed me that she had interpreted this declaration as intended to meet the exigency of the occasion." \*

Not content, however, with these favorable indications, Renard resumed the conversation in a subsequent interview. What then passed must have sufficiently enlightened him as to the real state of the case.

"I began," he writes, "by speaking of Courtenay, and the rumors which had been spread of her intending to confer her hand upon him. Whereupon, she told me that she had never spoken to Courtenay, except when she granted him his pardon, [on occasion of releasing him from the Tower, where he had been a state prisoner many years,] and that there was no person in England with whom she wished to ally herself — demanding of me whether the Emperor had not decided upon an eligible person to propose to her. I replied that his majesty had not yet written to me on the subject, and that I foresaw he would be some time in making up his mind, from the difficulty of finding a person of a suitable age, neither too old nor too young, [a gallant ambassador this!], whose rank corresponded with her own. I assured her that his majesty would discharge this trust with the prudence and fidelity of a parent; but that it would be easier for him to advise her if he knew something of her own inclinations, so that he might sanction them if they met with his approbation, and if not, might lay before her the

\* *Renard to the Bishop of Arras, August 15.*

grounds of his dissent. [Out upon this fellow! how indelicately he would rush into the sanctum of the lady's heart!] For my own part, I said, speaking only for myself, (*en mon particulier*.) I had thought of several princes, not yet engaged, and who were eligible matches; as the Archduke of Austria, the Prince of Piedmont, the heirs of Florence and Ferrara, and the Dauphin; but I knew of none who was of a suitable age, if she thought twenty-seven or twenty-eight too young. [Philip was in his twenty-seventh year.] Of older princes, all that occurred to me were aged or infirm.

"Hereupon, she suddenly remarked (*elle me dict incontinent*) that *his highness* [Philip] *was betrothed to the Princess of Portugal*. To which I replied, that I did not think the contract had been concluded; I had heard some talk of the matter previous to the war; but his majesty had since been too busy with military affairs to negotiate marriages, and his highness's time had been equally engrossed.

"Upon this the Queen said, she was very sorry that his highness was to wed the Princess of Portugal, for *they were too nearly related*. Those whom I had spoken of, she continued, were very young; she might be the mother of any one of them. She was older than his highness by a dozen years; and besides, *his highness would wish to reside in Spain*, to carry on the government of that country. His majesty knew the difficulty of effecting a marriage between a daughter of England and the sovereign of a foreign state. She trusted his majesty would have regard to *the necessity of the person's residing in England*, in order to administer the government; and that he would not advise her to marry any one whom she had never seen or spoken with. [Sheer coquetry—for this would have excluded nearly every prince in Europe, and she had expressed her determination not to marry a native.]

"I answered that I was confidently assured that, since matrimony comprehends two parties, his majesty would be most desirous that she should consult her own inclination before taking any decisive step. The various princes I had mentioned I knew to be worthy of such an alliance. As for his highness, I could not omit his name, on account of his many excellent qualities, his great prudence, judgment, experience, and moderation. He had been already married, and had a son, the Infanta of Spain, named Charles, who was now six or seven years old, [which made Philip appear older than the other princes of 'twenty-seven or twenty-eight'—]

"Without waiting to hear the end of what I had to say, she vowed that *she had never felt the smart of what they call love—que jamais elle n'avoit senti esguillon de ce que l'on appelle amor*; [well, she

was not in the confessional ; — the accusing spirit did not carry up that oath] ; and that she had never thought about marriage till after it had pleased God to raise her to the throne. Her own wishes would lead her to remain single ; but she was ready to sacrifice them to public considerations. [Yet such considerations could have had little influence on her choice, since she well knew that in marrying a foreign prince she was acting in opposition to the strongest feelings of the nation ; and when her Parliament remonstrated, she told them plainly that her marriage was no concern of theirs.] She trusted the Emperor would consider well what she had said to me [about the necessity for ‘the person’s residing in England?’] She desired to obey and to please his majesty in all things, as if he were her own father. She should not dare to discuss the subject with her Council ; it must be opened to them by a communication from the Emperor. [So, afterwards, when Count Egmont brought the formal proposal, Mary said, ‘it became not a female to speak in public, on so delicate a subject as her own marriage.’] It was true that her ladies talked to her of nothing but marriage — *que les dames quilz sont à l’entour d’elle ne luy preschent d’aulture chose sinon de mariaige* ; — but the members of the Council, assembled or individually, had never touched upon the topic in her presence.”

“Which is the sum of what passed in regard to the said matter of marriage. I would not lose the opportunity of speaking to her on the subject ; and you and his majesty can now judge for yourselves what inferences are to be deduced.” \*

And we, for our part, (“*en notre particulier*,”) leave it to the fair reader to pronounce if Mary was heart-whole, or at all events “fancy-free.”

She now waited anxiously for Charles’s proposal. As often as she saw the secretary of the embassy, she inquired whether any despatches had been received from his majesty, and if the envoy had any communication to make to her.† It was her desire that the emperor should send her a letter, conveying the proposal in such terms, that it might be laid before the Council for their approbation. But this open and straightforward course did not meet the views of her crafty kinsman. If Philip came forward publicly as a suitor for the hand of the English Queen, his negotiations for a marriage with the Por-

\* *Renard to the Bishop of Arras, September 8.*

† *Renard to the Bishop of Arras, September 9.*



tuguese princess would at once come to an absolute termination. The intermarriages, so frequent in that age, between the royal houses of Portugal and Spain, proceeded from the hopes which each dynasty entertained of absorbing its rival by these means, and ultimately bringing the whole Peninsula under its own sway. Two of Charles's aunts, his sister, and his daughter, had married Portuguese princes. He himself had broken a contract with the very daughter of Henry VIII. of England whom he was now wooing for his son, in order to wed his kinswoman, Isabella of Portugal. Philip was the widower of a Portuguese princess, whom he had married at the age of seventeen; and, as we have seen, he had again made proposals for a daughter of the same house. But the Portuguese nation relished such matches as little as the English nation. Whichever family might prove the winner in this matrimonial game, it was clear that the smaller and weaker country could gain nothing by the amalgamation. Nor did the court of Lisbon regard the present project with much favor. The power, the ambition, and the astuteness of Charles caused his offers of alliance to be viewed with nearly as much apprehension as his declarations of hostility. Philip, too, was, even at this period, the most unpopular prince in Europe. Had his suit been carried on with the dilatoriness represented by Renard, it would long before have received its *quietus*. The difficulties made by the other party had occasioned the delay. "I do not think," wrote Granvelle, while he and his master were waiting for intelligence from Portugal, "that the treaty has been concluded; for those people are very slow in their proceedings when the object is one that they themselves desire, and much slower when it is one for which they have little inclination, which I suspect is the case in this instance." \*

But before breaking off this negotiation, the emperor wished to be quite sure of the ground on which he was about to step. This was one reason for the strict secrecy with which he conducted the affair. He knew that "the English people naturally hated and abhorred foreigners," and "held the idea of

\* *The Bishop of Arras to Renard, August 14.*

having a foreign prince as their ruler, in universal detestation.”\* Yet the prize, he conceived, was one worth incurring a great risk for. There was not merely the chance of ultimately uniting England and the Low Countries under the sovereignty of his grandchildren. He also hoped that Philip would be able to control the foreign policy of Mary’s government, bring the resources of the nation to his assistance, and thus enable him to give the *coup de grace* to that power with which he had been carrying on an almost uninterrupted struggle ever since his accession to the throne. Such were the schemes of a man whose constitution was broken, whose mind was dis-tempered by melancholy, and who was looking forward to the speedy termination of his career, either by abdication or by death.

Before making a public offer to Mary of his son’s hand, Charles wished to be fully assured of her sentiments in his favor, and also to gain a definite notion of the degree of opposition which the project would meet with from her subjects. Hitherto, no member of the Council had been spoken to upon the matter. An expectation, indeed, prevailed at the English court, that Charles would offer advice to his kinswoman respecting her marriage; but it was some time before suspicions began to be entertained of the negotiations that were actually going on. The ambassador wrote, that, to gain the consent of the members of the Council and the principal nobles, it would be necessary to distribute large sums of money, and to promise estates, dignities, and other rewards for their coöperation. At length, he ventured to drop a hint on the matter to Paget; and finding that that unscrupulous politician was ready to embark in the scheme, he took him partially into his confidence, and availed himself of his counsel and assistance. The emperor wrote to Paget with his own hand, and, at his recommendation, directed that some other members of the Council should be sounded; that considerable sums (“*sommes notables de deniers*”) should be privately distributed among them, and promises made to them of an increase of their rank and privileges, in case of their adherence. An intimation might also be given to them that, if they were not disposed

\* *Papiers d’Etat de Granvelle*, iv., 10, et alibi.

to support the project, others, who were less impracticable, might be found to supply their places in the Council.\*

It now remained to obtain from the lady herself an explicit assent to the engagement. Early in September, Gardiner, whose eyes were now opened to what was going on, made a final effort in behalf of Courtenay; but to this proposal the Queen gave an absolute rejection. The emperor then empowered his ambassador to tender to her privately, in his name, the hand of his son. Charles thought it necessary to apologize for not becoming a suitor on his own behalf; his age and infirmities afforded an obvious excuse. But he could not offer any one who was so dear to him as Philip. The envoy was directed to urge all the public and private considerations which might be supposed to render such an alliance desirable for Mary. She was requested to make a plain and direct statement of her sentiments, discarding the ceremony and reserve with which such matters are discussed between strangers. If she should express a desire to communicate with the Council before coming to a resolution, Renard was to tell her that the present question concerned only her own feelings; if she were not herself inclined to sanction the project, there was no necessity for consulting any one, and the whole affair might remain a profound secret. On the other hand, if her own inclinations were in favor of the alliance, and her hesitation proceeded merely from doubts as to its feasibility, she was entreated to give the envoy her entire confidence; to give him the names of the persons whom she wished to consult; and to be guided by his advice as to what steps she should take.†

Mary seems to have accepted this offer without any show of reluctance. But the secrecy with which the affair had hitherto been conducted could no longer be maintained. No sooner did it become known to the Council, than the majority of them, with Gardiner at their head, waited on the Queen,

\* *The Emperor to Renard*, September 20.

† Letter above cited, of September 20. The dates which we have given are sufficient to refute the story, taken by Tytler and Miss Strickland from Graziani, Vie de Commendon, that Mary told the Papal envoy, in the middle of August, that "she had concluded her league with the Emperor, and had entirely resolved upon her marriage with his heir, Prince Philip."

and remonstrated strongly with her on the impolicy of such a marriage. If any thing had been wanting to confirm her in her purpose, this opposition would, of course, have had that effect. Parliament now took the alarm, and sent a committee to the Queen, to beseech her not to take a foreign prince for her husband. On the evening of the day on which she received this deputation, Mary knelt before the altar of her private oratory, in presence of the Spanish ambassador, and made a solemn vow to marry no one but the Prince of Spain. Another trial of her constancy awaited her. A rebellion, more formidable, more nearly successful than any that has ever been provoked in England by any single act of the government, followed the publication of the intended alliance. When this insurrection had been suppressed, and its ring-leaders punished, Mary had no further resistance to apprehend.

There is one feature of this transaction, — the details of which have not been fully related by historians,\* — which merits particular attention. Mary had obtained possession of the crown, which was her birthright, by the unexpected display of an ardent loyalty and attachment to her person, on the part of the great body of the people. All the dangers, all the sufferings, all the wrongs she had endured, had received an ample compensation in such general sympathy and adherence. But this generous fidelity failed to inspire her with any confidence in her subjects, or any regard for their wishes or their interests. In all important matters, her course was dictated by a foreign prince, who had given her no assistance in the assertion of her rights, whose advice came to her through secret channels, and whose aim, of course, was to render her policy subservient to his own. No English subject was privy to the communications that passed between the

\* Lingard alone, at least among English historians, had access to the *Ambassades de Renard*, while they were still unprinted, among the State Papers of Cardinal Granville. But this able, though (necessarily) uncandid, writer made little use of these invaluable documents. We may hope that they will be turned to better account by the distinguished historian, who is understood to be now engaged upon a work which will embrace all the important events of the latter half of the sixteenth century, and among whose merits, — merits which the world has so amply recognized, — a total freedom from religious bigotry is not the least.

two sovereigns. Mary was, in fact, a mere tool in the hands of the most crafty politician of that age. Probably she never doubted that Charles had been prepared to support her cause with arms. She certainly never suspected that the secrecy enjoined upon her had for its object to enable Philip, in case the obstacles to his marriage with her should, on a closer view, appear insurmountable, to resume his negotiations with Portugal. She knew that such an alliance would meet with great opposition from her people; but she consulted no one; she asked advice only of the party that was chiefly interested in the accomplishment of the project. It must be allowed, that she had some reason for distrusting many of the members of her Council; for they had been the ministers of Edward, and had participated, though reluctantly, in the plot for raising Lady Jane Grey to the throne. But this was not the case with Gardiner, the ablest of her ministers, on whom she bestowed her confidence in this matter as little as on the rest. And mere considerations of policy should have led her, instead of isolating herself from those who were most influential in the state, to strive, by every means, to secure their confidence and attachment. At all events, she should have respected those strong national feelings, in which she had found her best support. Far from pursuing this course, Mary tolerated her ministers only because she was unable to change them; and plotted against her people, while the acclamations with which they had proclaimed her were still ringing in her ears. We have seen that she not only acceded to a plan of which her proper advisers were entirely ignorant, but received from her fellow-conspirators the details of her own share in its execution. In her secret conferences with Renard, the English ministers and the English people were spoken of as inimical parties, whom it was an object to outwit and defeat. "Your Majesty," said the envoy, "is well acquainted with the capricious character of the English. Whether as the consequence of their being an insular people, or because their addiction to maritime pursuits has introduced a general corruption of manners, they are turbulent, eager for novelty, inconstant, and vindictive. Their sovereigns, in past times, were compelled to treat them with rigor, and to shed the blood

even of the noblest among them, so as to have acquired the reputation of being cruel and tyrannical princes." \* It was in this tone that a low-born Burgundian, the envoy of a foreign court, presumed to address the Queen of England.

The scheme was consummated. But little reason had either party to be satisfied with the result. It has been truly said, that the hostility to Spain, engendered by this alliance in the minds of the English people, supplanted their ancient enmity to France. The support which Philip extorted from them in his war with the latter power, — which occasioned the loss of the last relic of their Continental possessions, — tended to increase their resentment. A struggle ensued between the two countries, in which the Netherlands obtained their independence, — which could not have happened without the assistance they received from England, — and in which Spain lost her naval superiority, and that predominance which, under Charles V., she had maintained among the nations of Europe. Thus shorn of her external splendor, she rapidly sank under the action of those internal causes of decay which had been at work throughout the period of her short-lived greatness.

As for Mary, the bright hopes, to which she had sacrificed so much, were bitterly disappointed. She lost her people's love, but did not gain her husband's. Her nature was not one that easily yielded itself to emotions of tenderness. So much the stronger was this, the single, passion of her life. Its violence was increased by all that had made the completion of her wishes difficult, and by all that made the return, which her love demanded, improbable; by the opposition of her subjects; by the loss of her popularity; by the coldness of Philip's disposition, and the incompatibility of their ages.† Her desire

\* *Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle*, iv., 129.

† It has been stated by respectable writers, that Philip was forced into this marriage by his father, and that he besought Charles to give him a bride who was younger than himself, and not one who was eleven years older. This story may be easily disproved. Philip's position, at this period, was not such that it would have been possible to constrain his inclinations; nor could he have been very reluctant to marry a woman whose age was greater than his own, since the Princess of Portugal, to whom he had just before made an offer of his hand, was six years older than himself. The fact is, that Charles did not venture to move in the affair until he had consulted his son, who at once expressed the strongest desire for the accomplishment of the match. See *Ibid.* 80, 103, *et al.*

for children,—which Miss Strickland thinks fit to designate as monomania, — proceeded, perhaps, from the idea that, if Philip should have a son by her, to inherit England and the Low Countries, this would secure for her some place in his affections. But this hope, too, was doomed to be unfulfilled. She had embarked her all in a single venture, and all was lost.

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#### ART. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Six Months in Italy.* By GEORGE STILLMAN HILLARD. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields, 1853. 2 vols. 16mo.

LITTLE that is new remains to be told about Italy. Her life is in the past, and her history is written. Politically speaking, or with any reference to the events and interests of the present hour, Rome, Florence, and Naples are the most insignificant capitals in Europe. The interest which attaches to them is like that which covers Thebes and Nineveh with a mysterious charm; no one expects those solitudes to be peopled again, or their ancient glory to return. Italy, indeed, has exhausted her destiny. Twice has she been placed at the culminating point of power and renown, — once as the political mistress, and once as the home of the arts, of the civilized world. Whatever her future may be, it must be dwarfed by the remembrance of the glory that has passed away. Rome, it is true, still claims to be the head of Catholic Christendom; but her power, even in this respect, is only the lingering twilight of a sun that has set. The popedom is but a shadow of what it was; its spiritual thunders cannot disturb the repose of the feeblest prince in Europe; and in temporal matters, it is so rickety that it cannot stand without foreign aid. Every effort made to retrieve its fallen fortunes seems only to depress it still farther. Only six years ago, the world was called upon to admire that strange phenomenon, a reforming Pope, who was to cleanse the political sty and to regenerate Rome. A period of feverish excitement followed; but the difficulties were too great; one disappointment followed another, and, after a succession of disasters, the Pope became once more the tamest, the most conservative, and the pettiest of sovereigns. The people have shown themselves unworthy of freedom, as they are incapable of achieving it by their